

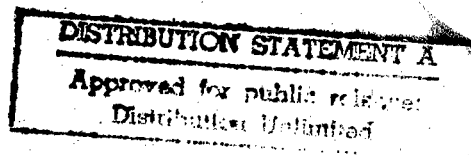
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4 June 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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4 June 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED ECONOMIST MITTAG ASSESSED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 13 Apr 84 p 2

/Article by Joachim Nawrocki, head of West Berlin editorial staff: "An Individualist Who Can Adapt--Guenter Mittag"/

/Text/ It remains astonishing how very much the change in Bonn has also advanced "German-German" relations. Guenter Mittag, the 57 year old SED economist and member of the politburo, last week traveled from the trade fair in Hannover to Bonn to have, as it was called, a "good talk" with Chancellor Kohl. When he visited Chancellor Schmidt four years ago under the same circumstances, it still caused a minor sensation.

Completely relaxed, Mittag is currently discussing the planned visit to the Federal Republic of Erich Honecker, GDR chairman of the Council of State--a journey which never materialized under the Schmidt government. Official comments on the discussion between Kohl and Mittag read like a long list of topics of mutual interest; areas of disagreement are hardly mentioned. Refurbishing of defense, forced exchanges, orders to shoot, Afghanistan: all these no longer appear as topics, but merely as signposts, true to Honecker's motto that one should discuss only those problems for which there are solutions, and not those for which there are none. Inter-German relations are apparently much stabler than the policy of detente. One of the reasons for this is the flourishing trade between the two German states, which is almost indispensable for the strained economy of the GDR, and which was a focal point of the discussions between Mittag, Federal Minister of Economics Count Lambsdorff, and Helmut Kohl.

Only a year ago, on Mittag's previous visit to Bonn, the atmosphere was quite different. At that time Rudolf Burkert, a citizen of the Federal Republic, died in GDR border control barracks under inexplicable circumstances. West German politicians, including Franz Josef Strauss, were quick to talk of "murder" and under such incriminating circumstances Helmut Kohl preferred not to receive Mittag during his Bonn visit. It soon became apparent that the GDR border police was not responsible, or worse still, physically abusive in causing Burkert's death; he died of cardiac arrest.

Since then there has been a sudden and lasting improvement in the manner in which people in transit are treated by GDR authorities. The cold bureaucratic atmosphere at border crossing points has given way to a new spirit of friendliness. This is but one of the symptoms indicating how good and relaxed relations between Bonn and East Berlin have become. The friendliness with which West German officials, who went there in droves, were received at the spring trade fair in Leipzig is further proof, as is Guenter Mittag's reception at the Hannover trade fair last week.

Western observers often describe Guenter Mittag as a technocrat, a member of the "counter-elite," for whom "professionalism" is more important than ideological content. It is true that he gets along without party jargon, that he is on top of facts and figures without semantic flourishes, and that--by virtue of his personality and human interest--he fares well with such sober men as Helmut Schmidt or Count Lambsdorff. Helmut Schmidt judged him as someone who "thinks ahead" and as someone whom he could also imagine, were he not a communist, as a cabinet minister.

Mittag is no apparatchik, no forger of cadres, no security fanatic; consequently, all speculations notwithstanding, he is unlikely to succeed Honecker as SED secretary general. Klaus Boelling describes Mittag as an "individualist who prefers not to be regarded as such. He therefore adheres conscientiously to the liturgy." Mittag, of course, also shares responsibility for the decisions of the SED politburo; if he had expressed divergent opinions more frequently and if he had not gone along with almost every change in course, his steady climb to the top--aside from a small deviation between 1973 and 1976--would not have been possible. From there it is but a step to the position of chairman of the Council of Ministers as successor to Willi Stoph.

Guenter Mittag has no problem using such hackneyed propaganda phrases as: "The extensive armament build-up, fueled by the United States, devours material and financial resources to such an extent that millions of people are starving or becoming impoverished; that the regenerative capacity of the national economy is decisively weakened; and that the entire capitalist world economy is being driven to the brink of disaster....This is an economy which cares nothing about improved living conditions but one whose development is characterized by a desire for profits and power on the part of a few monopolies. This is the system of the hegemony of those monopolies which form the military-industrial complex in the United States and which is the cause for the danger of war."

But most of the time Mittag talks about factual issues; then he is concerned with increasing the national income, lowering the consumption of energy, raw materials, and materiel; with expanding the intellectual and material output of the national economy; with increasing the productivity of labor; with scientific-technological progress; with

better supplies for the population; and with "highly effective exports." On such occasions he praises the centralization of industry into combines with the same enthusiasm as in the early sixties when he demanded and promoted decentralization of the decision making process and greater responsibility for plant executives. Together with Erich Apel, then chairman of the State Planning Commission, he participated in the development of Walter Ulbricht's "New Economic System" as well as the abandonment of these reforms--contrary to Apel who for this reason took his own life. A party career like that of Guenter Mittag also demands a kind of vigor not at everybody's command. In his career, Mittag rose straight to the top. Born 8 October 1926 in Stettin, he was employed by the Reichsbahn /national railroad/ at the end of the war. He immediately joined the Party and worked at first in the railroad workers union. At age 27 he was already department head in the Central Committee of the SED.

In June 1962, at age 35, Mittag became secretary of commerce in the SED Central Committee and soon thereafter candidate for the politburo, which made him the most influential economic official in the GDR. These were the years which saw the planning, introduction, and failure of the New Economic System which the SED had hoped would bring greater flexibility to economic planning. He wrote most of the theoretical treatises dealing with this reform together with Erich Apel. In September 1966 Mittag became a full member of the politburo and had now reached the top.

Since then, Mittag has steered the GDR economy through many shallows and rough waters. He, better than anyone, knows how helpful close economic collaboration between the two German states is in overcoming many problems of GDR's economy. There is still much stagnation and many statistics have been doctored. But conditions are better than in almost all the other countries of the Eastern bloc. Not least, this is most assuredly Guenter Mittag's achievement.

The price increases and shortages of energy and raw materials forced the GDR to economize drastically and had a negative impact on its balance of trade. Higher costs for imports, difficulties in exports caused by the depressed economy of the Western countries, and high interest rates drove GDR's debt to the West to the limit of its ability to pay. It was possible to contain this crisis by the decision to give highest priority to exports at almost any price, even at the expense of domestic supplies. The GDR's debt to the West declined, economic conditions stabilized, and the economy of the GDR appears to be over the hump. But prices have risen, while the standard of living has not. For these reforms have had no effect on the basic weaknesses of a planned economy: lack of flexibility and an unwillingness to assume responsibility.

Even Guenter Mittag cannot overcome these systemic weaknesses. Once in 1964, he wanted to strip the capitalist management system of its

"capitalistic mantle" and to utilize its "rational core." He discovered later that nobody in the GDR is allowed to "by-pass the main party line" under the cloak of a scientific stance. This is the maxim according to which Mittag, too, follows his path--a path which almost certainly has a long way to go.

12628

CSO: 2300/460



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG REPORT DESCRIBES INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 17 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by "na" datelined Duesseldorf 16 Apr 84: "GDR Intelligence Services Make Contact with Management Consultants Under False Colors"]

[Text] Management consultants must be on their guard against GDR intelligence services. That which seemingly begins as normal business relations with mostly innocuous contracts to provide information takes on more and more clearly over the course of time--with a shifting to security-sensitive objectives--the character of an intelligence relationship. These things are pointed out in the 1983 report by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

In the field of economic and scientific espionage the GDR intelligence services not only are trying to infiltrate their agents. They are also interested for intelligence purposes in free-lance management consultants, who have access to all in-house secrets inclusive of research results and technical "know-how."

Agent Went into Business as a Consultant

As is said in the report by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, it does not make any difference whether the free-lance management consultant or the management consulting firm offers a broad range of services (for example ranging from the analysis of cost structure to the planning system in the area of research and development) or whether it has specialized in certain branches of business management (for example, marketing, personnel searches, electronic data processing consultation). In each case, the business enterprises have been allowing consultants to look deeply into their business processes and their respective states of technological development.

The report says that in contrast to an agent working on a case, who could attract attention if he were particularly nosy for information outside his field of activities, a management consultant is practically obligated to get a comprehensive idea about in-house conditions. Furthermore, compared to the source who is solidly incorporated in a company, the management consultant who has been recruited as an agent has the advantage of greater flexibility, because not seldom he is working for several firms at the same

time, or else from among the overtures made by various firms he can even make his selection on the basis of intelligence considerations.

#### Market Survey Compiled

The report mentions one case of espionage in which after years of employment, an agent had left the globally active computer firm of IBM and had set himself up as a management consultant in the sector of electronic data processing--with the approval of his operations headquarters. The possibility of thus broadening the diversity of his information sources was applauded by the GDR Ministry for State Security, the report said.

According to the report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, besides the Ministry for State Security also the GDR's military secret service is trying to recruit management consultants and comparable free-lancers. Mentioned by the report as an initial contact well-known to the Constitutional Protection Office is "Graduate Engineer Bernhard Range," with an address at Strasse der Einheit 31, Oranienburg. This initial contact supposedly first makes inquiries in writing to corresponding advertisers in supraregional newspapers, appears interested in a collaborative venture, and invites the persons in question to East Berlin to talk over the details.

In a different espionage case, another initial contact also proceeded according to the same routine, which has been known about for years. In this case, in mid-1981 a consultant had put advertisements several times in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG for his advertising agency "Allround PR." In response he had been contacted by a certain "Graduate Engineer Max Jensen" from East Berlin, who claimed to belong to a "bureau for technical information and documentation."

The consultant met a total of six times with Jensen between December 1981 and October 1982 in East Berlin and received about DM 12,000 in payments on account. In return for this he himself supplied market surveys which had been compiled concerning Western firms which sell high-grade metal alloys for microprocessor manufacturing. In the last meeting, Jensen also showed other interests. He asked the consultant to prepare a market survey on arms manufacturing in the FRG. Only at this stage did the consultant admit to having realized the true facts about his business relations in the GDR. On 7 October the Higher Regional Court of Duesseldorf sentenced him to imprisonment for 1 year because of secret service espionage.

Quite a few management consultants perceive only belatedly this change from a normal business connection with largely innocuous information-providing tasks into an intelligence-service relationship. And with others, evidence of personal complicity in this secret-service espionage often cannot be established. Thus, the preliminary investigation had to be dropped against a marketing consultant who for years had unquestionably supplied information from the fields of chemistry, nuclear research, and military technology to the Ministry for State Security. There was no way to disprove his testimony that he had believed his business partners to be members of the GDR's "Ministry for Science and Technology."

The report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution notes further that enemy intelligence services also make use of legal means of procuring information. It says that in this connection detective agencies and credit inquiry agencies in particular offer themselves for settling cases having to do with people and things. Frequently these are not aware of being misused for purposes of an enemy intelligence service.

The report says that for enemy intelligence services smaller detective agencies have the advantage due to the fact that if there are extensive assignments involving intelligence gathering, these call in larger detective agencies or credit inquiry agencies which will not recognize the original clients and therefore will not suspect any intelligence-service motives.

#### Clients Remain Unknown

An analysis of the findings of the last 30 years with respect to economic and scientific espionage has shown that about 300 large and small companies have been exposed--for the most part repeatedly--to espionage efforts by the services of the Warsaw Pact states. At the top of the list are production and marketing firms of the electronics industry, followed by companies involved in machine-building and plant construction, the precision-engineering and optical industry, the chemical and petrochemical industry, vehicle, aircraft, and ship building, and also the iron and steel working industry.

These intelligence-service assignments concern primarily the procurement of production and business documents, production samples and parts, and also intelligence gathering on employees at the intermediate management level, as potential targets for recruiting efforts.

12114

CSO: 2300/461

HONECKER ARTICLE ON PEACE, COEXISTENCE

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 May 84 p 2

[Article by Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council: "All Strength Continued for Peace and the People's Well-being," reprinted from: Vienna WEST-OST JOURNAL Apr 84]

[Text] After having been founded 35 years ago, our GDR is a politically stable, dynamically developing, economically most efficient state where education, science and culture are flourishing.

The core of our efforts today and in the future is to turn off the danger of a nuclear inferno, which would destroy humanity, and make peace permanent. Those in NATO, mainly in the United States, who are toying with the fire of nuclear war, pursuing a confrontation and arms buildup course, and are dreaming of their military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community, must be foiled in their adventurous designs. It is necessary, and it is possible. After NATO, in defiance of the will of the peoples, started deploying U.S. first-strike weapons in Western Europe, the struggle for peace, arms control and disarmament must all the more be reinforced.

No one can relieve the U.S. administration of the blame for exacerbating the international situation and increasing the danger of nuclear war by deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe and pushing the arms race. Nothing will relieve those in NATO who agreed with the deployment and let Washington take its ominous course of their heavy responsibility. That unfortunately also includes the FRG government and the coalition parties in the Bundestag. As the second strongest state within NATO the FRG would be well advised to place its full weight in the scale so as to block the U.S. administration in an adventurous policy that endangers the existence of mankind.

In their doctrines on that a nuclear war is feasible and winnable, certain U.S. circles are making no secret of their taking the possibility of nuclear catastrophe into account. Yet they are not only threatening the globe itself, they are even extending the nuclear arms race into space and are hallucinating about "star wars." They keep developing and introducing new weapons systems, solely meant to gain U.S. military-strategic superiority over socialism. As the recently published Soviet aide-memoire reveals, they thereby also are violating international treaties signed exclusively to contain the arms race.

Ronald Reagan's most recent remarks about the impossibility of nuclear war and the need to prevent it could be perfectly welcome, were they not a matter of campaign speeches in a bourgeois state rather than a revision of his previous policy. As long as words are not followed by deeds, question marks are quite in order.

At no time must one lose sight of that it has been the U.S. administration that pulled the ground from under the Geneva arms limitation and reduction talks both on nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe and on strategic arms, and why it has done so. In constructive accords on the principle of equality and equal security it had not been interested from the start. Now, after NATO's missile deployment started, the incensed world public is meant to be deceived by talk about peace, and the peace movement, demanding a stop in the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles and the removal of the systems already in place, is meant to be put under pressure.

With a U.S. willingness to keep negotiating in Geneva, after the start of the Stockholm conference and in view of the resumption of the Vienna negotiations on troop reductions in Europe, and if the United States and other NATO states were to return to the situation that existed in Western Europe before the medium-range nuclear weapons were deployed, the Soviet Union would also be ready for it. That the Soviet Union has made clear repeatedly while emphasizing that it is resolutely carrying on its course on peace, on halting the arms race and on disarmament.

Counter-measures by our alliance are going to prevent any violation of the military-strategic equilibrium that has done a lot for safeguarding peace in the world in recent years.

The GDR, as one knows, has engaged in vivid diplomatic activity on behalf of safeguarding peace, the return to detente, and arms limitation and reduction, not only before the new U.S. first-strike weapons began to be stationed, but afterwards as well. Our course has been and remains determined by the principles of peaceful coexistence and the desire to reduce tension and curb the military confrontation, especially also in Europe. International relations must again be dominated by reason and the will for constructive settlements of controversial problems by peaceful means. Cooperation for mutual advantage must prevail. Continuing the East-West dialogue is very important for that. Under those aspects one also must view my own meetings with leading politicians and other personalities in Western countries, including the FRG.

On all those occasions I have advocated the standpoint that preventing a nuclear inferno is that first priority task any responsible statesman should espouse, regardless of any other differences of opinion. There has been a far-reaching consensus on that. The socialist countries have often proposed concrete steps for reaching peace-securing accords, and we abide by those propositions. They are contained in the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact states and in the Moscow joint declaration by the leading representatives of the fraternal countries.

I refer to the total nuclear arms freeze, to setting up nuclear-free zones or zones free of nuclear combat weapons, as the Swedish initiative proposes. We regard as very important a treaty signed between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO on renouncing the use of military force and on preserving our peaceful relations. It is worth noting that, e.g., Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau at our recent talks in Berlin, singled out that proposition when advocating a serious response by the NATO states to significant elements in the Prague declaration.

Naturally, we do not lose sight of the fact that a new situation has arisen when Pershing II and cruise missiles began to be deployed. All the more resolutely must the nuclear strategists be prevented from going to the extreme, especially those across the Atlantic, who are denigrating the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and are proclaiming a "crusade" against the socialist countries. We shall do whatever needs doing to affect international development positively and redirect it onto healthy tracks. World politics must not go out of control. We are joining all who let themselves be guided by the realization that there is no reasonable alternative for the peaceful coexistence with states of a different social order, all who seriously want peace, regardless of the ideological or political camp they are in.

This also expresses what it is that we are letting ourselves be guided by in further developing GDR-FRG relations. These relations cannot be separated from the requirements for a peaceful future for both German states, for Europe indeed, for reasonable juxtaposition and cooperation. Because of that and, not last, mindful of the experiences of two world wars, mindful of the responsibility both German states bear for peace, what matters is to use every opportunity to make reason and realism prevail, have cooperation replace confrontation, achieve progress in disarmament and revive the detente process in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security.

Ultras only, no one else, could in the FRG be interested in aggravating the situation. We do not overlook that influential forces exist there that resist a positive development toward halting the arms race and toward peaceful cooperation and predictable international relations. They appear to be looking at tensions in world politics as a sort of upcurrent in which they can sail to revive revanchist propaganda. That is attested to by all their babbling about the survival of a German Reich in the 1937 boundaries and by the completely hopeless speculations to gain advantages at the expense of GDR sovereignty. That is a matter of reckoning without one's host, as it were.

The realities created on our continent during World War II and through postwar development can still only be the starting point for a constructive policy. They include the existence of two independent German states with differing social orders, the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG, and the fact that both are integrated in equally different alliance systems, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. There can be no other relations but those of peaceful coexistence. The current aggravation of the international situation only solidifies that observation. It makes it all the more apparent that the task is to leave nothing undone, in line with the sets of treaties and, particularly, the Basic Treaty, in taking the kind of steps in the relations between the two German states that serve the interests in securing peace, in detente and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We are firmly convinced the dark clouds menacing the world with the danger of war and steeping the peoples in anxiety will be dispelled. More weapons do not bring more security. We resolutely advocate an equilibrium on diminishing levels of arms, disarmament in East and West. While this is so, we are ready also, like the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, for the most radical measures. At the Stockholm conference on confidence-forming measures and disarmament the GDR is making its active and constructive contribution, wholly in that sense. It also welcomes the resumption of the Vienna negotiations. All these things, without wishing to overrate them, provide important and encouraging evidence for reason, for the vitality of a peaceful juxtaposition and the peoples' co-operation.

5885

CSO: 2300/471

HONECKER ASSERTS GDR COMPLIES WITH CSCE ACCORDS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 May 84 p 1

[Text of letter from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to Rene Peyre, president of the French Association of Resistance Fighters and Victims of War, datelined Berlin (ADN): "GDR Puts the Spirit and Letter of the Helsinki Accords Into Effect"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has answered a letter from Rene Peyre, president of the French Association of Resistance Fighters and Victims of War. In that letter, the chiefs of state or of government in the CSCE member states are asked to give information on their countries' contributions to the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki and to the success of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Erich Honecker's letter reads as follows:

Dear Mr Peyre:

I have given great attention to your letter. I agree with you that there is special reason at this time to be concerned with the maintenance of peace. With the start of the stationing of new U.S. first-strike weapons in the FRG, the nuclear confrontation has been considerably heightened in Europe. From that emanates for the first time once again the danger of war from German soil. That contradicts the principles of a European order of peace agreed on, in the outcome of the victory by the states of the anti-Hitler coalition over Hitler fascism, in the Potsdam Agreement.

Nothing is more important to the GDR but to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, together with all forces that are prepared for an understanding. Even at its hour of birth, 35 years ago, the GDR solemnly committed itself to doing everything for never again letting war emanate from German soil. It has done what it could since for it. It has always let itself be guided by there being no alternative for peaceful coexistence in the nuclear age and that military conflict means the destruction of the earth.



In the Final Act of Helsinki, a code on peaceful coexistence was, as it were, agreed on for the first time in Europe. Its importance is generally recognized today.

True to its peace policy, the GDR has conscientiously been implementing this document from the day that the Helsinki Final Act was signed. The same applies to what was agreed on in Madrid.

Ensuring peace and security is prerequisite to any kind of cooperation. The GDR has always sought to develop its relations to states different in social orders in Europe on the basis of the Final Act principles. It will continue to do so. The results achieved therein, especially the intensification of the East-West dialogue and the extension of the web of European treaties by concluding nearly 230 accords in the political, economic and cultural field between the GDR and Western states participating in CSCE, have proven to be encouragements to peace. On behalf of this and of detente, the GDR--not last in the fields of contacts, information, culture and education--has come up with achievements that far surpass what had been agreed on in Helsinki. They have, not insignificantly, helped lay a material foundation for peaceful coexistence in Europe.

Implementing the Final Act cannot be a one-way street, however. As a carefully and arduously prepared balance of interests, the Final Act has to be fulfilled in all its parts by all signatory states alike.

The CSCE process is suitable to an outstanding degree for playing a significant role in recovering an atmosphere of international confidence, consolidating security and extending detente. The GDR therefore advocates all the more continuing, in the sense of the Helsinki principles, the dialogue with all reasonable forces and using every opportunity to halting the arms race, arms limitation and disarmament. The Prague Declaration by the Warsaw Pact states, the Moscow Declaration by the highest representatives of socialist countries, and the communique of the Budapest conference of the committee of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states contain recommendations that point the way to acceptable solutions that take all states' security concerns into account because they are based on the principle of equality and equal security.

At the Stockholm Conference, the GDR is working for results that will reduce the military confrontation in Europe and make inter-state relations politically predictable again. It advocates accords on measures that help improve the situation and strengthen confidence, such as a renunciation under international law of the first use of nuclear weapons by states having nuclear weapons and a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations. The appeal from the Warsaw Pact states a few days ago to the NATO states, to enter into multilateral consultations now for further debating the treaty proposition, again documents the readiness of the socialist states to take noticeable steps toward a recovery of the international situation. Also the freezing of nuclear weapons arsenals, the setting up of nuclear-free zones or corridors in various parts of Europe, getting chemical weapons out of Europe, the freezing and reduction of the military budgets of all participating states, and the supplementing and extension of confidence building measures aiming at the reduction of the states' military activities and the prevention of the danger of surprise attack could relieve the international atmosphere and reduce confrontation.

More security through fewer weapons while preserving the military balance is an urgent precept for our continent. That presupposes returning to the situation that existed before new U.S. first-strike weapons began to be deployed. Wordy declarations about the will for peace and readiness for negotiations are useless, as long as no deeds follow. All signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act bear the responsibility not to jeopardize what has laboriously been achieved and not to shy away from courageous steps serving a peace and detente policy.

I can assure you the GDR will do everything to comprehensively put the spirit and letter of the Final Act of Helsinki into effect and contribute to the success of the Stockholm Conference.

Sincerely yours,

E. Honecker.

5885

CSO: 2300/484

CIVIL DEFENSE HEAD OUTLINES 1984 TRAINING TASKS

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 4 No 1, 1984 (signed to press 15 Dec 83) pp 2-3

[Article by Lt Gen F. Peter, director GDR Civil Defense: "Toward the 35th Anniversary of the GDR with New Initiatives in the Protection of the Population and the National Economy"]

[Text] Pursuant to a fine tradition, the civil defense associates and volunteers take the occasion of the 35th GDR anniversary to make a weighty specific contribution to strengthening our socialist national defense through exemplary achievements in managing the protection of life and wealth.

Everywhere in our country, the staffs, leadership organs and formations, the schools and civil defense facilities have assumed high goals through their commitments and campaign programs, wholly in line with the class mission assigned by the 10th SED Congress. They are in essence all aimed at a higher operational readiness and at important performance improvement. Hundreds of thousands of civil defense associates and volunteers thus are demonstrating their intention to do all they can for further strengthening the first socialist state on German soil as a bulwark of peace and for increasing its power of radiation.

Our GDR--A Reliably Protected State of Peace and Socialism

In the 35 years of its existence, the GDR, under the leadership by the working class party, inseparably linked with Lenin's land and the other fraternal countries, and in spite of all hostilities and all the resistance launched by the class enemy, became a solid member of the community of socialist states and a stable, efficient, internationally respected and militarily well protected state of socialism and peace. Because the GDR from the very beginning has worked fully for the maintenance of peace and the well-being of the people and is identified with social security and safety, with genuine freedom and democracy, the citizens are identifying with it, their state, and are not taking it easy when it becomes a matter of making a personal contribution to its continued blossoming. That provides the motives for commitment in coping with the tasks assigned by the working class party for the all-round consolidation of the GDR.

Especially now, in view of the arms buildup and confrontational course of the United States and other NATO states, vigilance and a high defense readiness are

particularly important. The start of the stationing of missiles on the territory of West European countries has dangerously aggravated the international situation. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states are compelled to take all the necessary precautions for reliably ensuring their security and peace for mankind.

That assigns responsible tasks to all sectors of our socialist national defense, hence also to our civil defense, for the 1983/84 training year.

#### All Our Experience for Enhancing Our Operational Readiness

Essentially it is a matter of a continued purposive fulfilment of the tasks with which the 10th SED Congress has charged us. The leadership and operational readiness of all civil defense sectors are to be brought onto a level that meets the requirements of the military-political situation and ensures a high operational readiness at all times.

Much depends on how we succeed in using all the good experiences gained in past years for perfecting civil defense and expanding the complexity of all its measures. Successes thus far, in which we can take pride, make clearer than ever: Organizing the protection of life and wealth is in a particular sense the outcome of the creative activity of the official chiefs, from the brigade chief to the minister, from the community to headquarters, and of the committed efforts of the social organizations.

A responsible coordination of all protective measures as between the territory and the enterprises, institutions and facilities located there ensures the most efficient solutions the fastest way. That is confirmed by valuable insights gained, among others, in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk and in Magdeburg Bezirk.

For example, the "Program for Overall State and Communal Policy Tasks in the Towns and Communities of Magdeburg Bezirk," issued by the bezirk assembly, has proven itself. Fundamental tasks are set down in it, uniformly and bindingly, for all official civil defense leaders. That guideline has had a permanent effect on the expertise of the responsible cadre in civil defense. In Schwerin Bezirk, strong impulses for a further upswing of the responsible efforts toward improving life and goods came, among other things, from a mayors' conference.

#### Special Attention for Schooling and Training Measures

In the development stage attained, the outcome of continuing education and training for the cadre in civil defense problems is unmistakably reflected. As in general any further advance in civil defense is determined by the training level primarily, that applies all the more to training the leadership cadre in the state and the national economy. Training and education are on top of all other priorities for the 1983/84 training year. That assigns requirements new in quality to the bezirk schools, the civil defense institute and all other educational institutions that are preparing cadre for their functions.

As before, what matters is to further all factors that affect the substance and quality of training positively. We shall also support new ideas that may lead to greater efficiency in training and continuing education.

Civil defense exercises have proven most expedient here, where leadership cadre are presented with complicated situations in having to make sound decisions on assigning forces to fight catastrophes and heavy disasters and re-constitute production and public life. At the same time, such exercises offer the best opportunities to participating civil defense command organs, formations and facilities to acquire practical skills and facilities for acting properly in danger situations. Potsdam Bezirk presented an impressive example of it in last year's training where in the course of a highly beneficial exercise worthwhile experiences were gained for a complex civil defense task solution.

#### Using Innovators' Ideas for Improvements

The inventors, rationalizers and innovators of civil defense have had a remarkable share in the advances made in the protection of lives and goods. The displays at the Second Innovator Exhibition reflected a noted upswing of the innovator movement in most bezirks and some central state organs. We are glad that three civil defense collectives already received the Friedrich Engels Price from the minister for national defense for trailblazing scientific accomplishments.

Constructive and compelling impulses and guidelines for the work of inventors, innovators and rationalizers in civil defense came out of the Second Innovator Conference, which will have effects for years to come. Activities will be concentrated in particular on improving protective measures, more efficient leadership activity, improving the ways and means of rescue and salvage operations, and better training for the operational forces and for the population. Thus the innovator movement will go on and affect significantly the operational and performance readiness of civil defense positively.

#### Promote Mass Initiative and Emulate the Best in Socialist Competition

Civil defense tasks during the anniversary year will surely be taken care of all the more successfully the more we can, by following the example of the unit that initiated the competition, Comrade Werner Rudolph's formation from the parent enterprise of the Buna VEB Chemical Works, concentrate the mass initiative in socialist competition on coping with the priority tasks in the training year. With gratification and pride we can say that the results of the 1982/83 training year show an impressive balance-sheet for obligations fulfilled. They demonstrate that socialist competition in civil defense is increasingly becoming a field of activity in which our members and volunteer associates can make an accountable contribution to the strengthening of our republic's defense capacity.

The results of Comrade Liebernicket's formation, which initiated the Karl Marx Year competition, confirms once again: The success is the greatest wherever, under SED party organization leadership, the official chiefs, effectively supported by public forces, firmly integrated civil defense tasks within leadership and management activity so that they also ensure their influence on the socialist competition by the leadership organs in civil defense formations.

Much indicates we have notably improved the efficacy of socialist competition in recent years. At the same time, however, we also know that there are obviously

reserves left in the competition movement which need to be tapped through prudent leadership activity and the all-round mobilization of the members and volunteers.

Purposeful work with the pacemaker collectives, which exist in all bezirks and kreises, can make for a more fruitful performance improvement in all formations. Progressive civil defense collectives, it has been found, pass on to other formations experiences they were able to gain while seeking exemplary results. Also in civil defense, experience exchange and performance comparison are tried and tested methods to elevate the general performance level and do away with unacceptable disparities in levels.

Turning socialist competition more still into an all-inclusive form of creative mass initiative in civil defense, its core being the effort to ensure a high operational readiness permanently, is a real task for the anniversary year of our republic.

#### Meeting the Requirements for Political-Ideological Work in Every Way

The 1983/84 training year requirements for all civil defense sectors imply an ambitious demand made on political work in civil defense. In carrying on the noteworthy results of the Karl Marx Year, we are concentrating our efforts in political-ideological work on further deepening the pride of the members and volunteers in the achievements by the working class party in establishing and developing the first workers and farmers state on German soil, which enjoys high regard in the international arena and, as a reliable alliance partner in the Warsaw Pact, conscientiously fulfils its obligations for maintaining peace and defending the accomplishments of socialism.

The high demands made on the operational and performance readiness of the staffs, leadership organs and formations are met best where everyone who is doing his patriotic duty for the protection of the homeland is deeply convinced of the meaning of such efforts in civil defense. On a cogent political clarification about the objective, indispensable place of civil defense within overall national defense depends to a considerable degree the motivation for stable high achievements in training and in the effort on behalf of a permanently high operational readiness.

Inspired by the results of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences in their basic party organizations, the communists, wholly in terms of the resolutions of the seventh SED Central Committee session, will, with fresh strength and new impulses, continue to stand in the front rank when it becomes a matter of increasing the protection of people and of their material and cultural values and of recruiting our citizens for that. That gives us confidence. And so we approach bravely the completion of the tasks with which we have been charged for the 1983/84 training year by our party and state leadership.

5885

CSO: 2300/480

STATISTICAL OFFICE CHIEF DESCRIBES PLANS, WORK IN PROGRESS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 7 Apr 84 p 7

/Interview with Dr Mra Ferene Nyitrai by Judit Kovacs: "What Is New at the KSH /Central Statistical Office/? Concerning the Economy Forming Effect of Society"/

/Text/ /Question/ As chairman of the Central Statistics Office people always expect economic analyses from you. We will not break that pattern. So what are the latest economic experiences.

/Answer/ In 1983 we looked at the technical background of the entire economy--industry, agriculture and transportation. Where are we as a result of the held-back investments? How are machines being used, how is automation spreading? We know that the most modern machines were coexisting with obsolete equipment. But it was a new finding that the new machines are not being used any better than the obsolete ones. This is a great waste, both of expensive machines and of people. Studying our foreign trade directed to developing countries we tried to find out where the delivery of turnkey plants was most successful and where machine sales were coupled with intellectual export. Another new thing was that we wanted to learn about the functioning of the new economic undertakings. This was not simple. We cannot ask for too much data from them because this would arouse mistrust, not to speak of the fact that they do not have the administration that would be ready to provide larger data services. The regional distribution of technology is receiving new emphasis also, from the viewpoint of the level of technical development and from the viewpoint of environmental protection. The industrialization of the producer cooperatives, for example, could pollute the air and water in more than one place.

Children and Old People

/Question/ Statisticians contribute to our social information also with very many data and evaluations. A good part of the research of social science is based on data from the office. You also do social statistics studies. What is new in this area?

/Answer/ We have just started a break-taking study. Previously we studied primarily what effect economic changes had on society. We know

something about this. Now we are studying in the medium and long term how social changes react on the development of the economy. We are trying to discover the effective factors and mechanism of the system of contacts between the economy and society.

/Question/ This is a very ambitious program.

/Answer/ We are proceeding step by step. If public interest is directed at one element of our study then we bring forward this theme. This happened in 1983 when we studied the situation of young college graduates. I need not explain that their morals, efforts or even apathy have economic consequences. Two themes of our study will be included in the upcoming microcensus, a "little census" based on a one percent sample. One is the intention to have children, the education, care and schooling of children. The other is the status of pensioners, their living conditions. The education of children is linked to our basic theme in that we should know the quality aspects for the replacement of earners now active. We should know what the intentions of parents are in regard to their children and whether these can be realized in view of the capacity of the educational institutions. In what communities and in what type of schools will they study and what careers will the children be prepared for? Will they be educated for work at home?

/Question/ How do the pensioners fit into this theme, how can they influence the economy from the social side?

/Answer/ In my opinion there are gigantic unexploited reserves in the pensioners. In their preparedness, experience and knowledge of the situation. We should look at the composition of them. What is their home environment, do they live in the family or not? How is their social situation developing, with what do they spend their time?

/Question/ You referred to the quality of manpower replacement. It can be foreseen that the quantity of it will cause a big problem too. There are few children. And the indications are not reassuring.

/Answer/ Population trends can be influenced only in the long term. We have worked out variants about how population policy measures passed at certain times may influence population trends. How natural increase or decrease is developing.

What Holds Them Together

/Question/ Our population problems again direct attention to the family.

/Answer/ The family is one of the chief themes of our population research also. Just as we have studied several times the causes and consequences of divorce so now we are looking at what holds the family together. What cohesive forces operate in this and how they might be strengthened. Today



also the family is an economic unit. Not only in the sense that they produce jointly, for example in a household plot or small garden and are to a certain extent self-supplying, but also because a well organized family manages its income and time wisely. The essence of our study is: We are not interested primarily in what makes a family sick but rather in how it remains healthy. In our opinion it is not the deviant but rather the healthy, normal communities that are essential in a study of social factors.

/Question/ The KSH deals with health not only in an indirect sense.

/Answer/ Naturally. But if the effects of society on the economy are on the agenda then we are implementing different study viewpoints than if, for example, we were compiling illness statistics. In large measure the work of a person is determined by his state of health, by social services. In 1983 we studied in detail health services and expenditures--by social strata and community. We studied what free health service costs the state, and what it costs the individual. For example, the costs of nursing a patient at home fall on the family. Either a member of the family takes care of the patient at the burden of his leave or he pays for care at home, if there is someone to do it. Care for someone suffering from chronic illness or for old parents not needing hospital care can change the life of an entire family. The unsolved nature of home patient care is interdependent with the employment of women. As a consequence we must develop home patient care, and it may be necessary to employ some women part time or on a flexible schedule.

#### Waste and Shortage

/Question/ Did you also look at the volume and costs of medicine consumption?

/Answer/ Yes. Everyone can see that we discovered waste.

/Question/ I think that this is interdependent with the shortages which arise from time to time. A person who is chronically ill, who has been put on a medicine with a certain name, does not trust a medicine of similar composition with another name. It may be that there is a slight difference, it may be that it is less used because of the lack of trust. So he collects medicines.

/Answer/ It is my opinion that in these hard times when the country and many families have serious material problems we must pay much attention to preserving the quality of life, which is also determined by the level of health services, availability of medicines and the style of health workers. In our representative study we asked for the opinion of about 22,000 people concerning health service. About their experiences with hospital, clinic, district and duty service. We also asked how many times they were sick and how frequently they went to the doctor. Did

they seek a private practitioner? We did our analysis by social stratum and age group. As manpower the state of health and well being of a person is an economic question too, both on the job and in the family.

/Question/ Economic development also depends on the degree of culture in the broad sense.

/Answer/ The level of schooling of the populace is very reassuring. The ever greater proportion of women graduating from secondary school and getting college degrees is an outstanding achievement. We have an hypothesis that the time and money spent on culture are not in harmony with the level of school completion. There may be material reasons for this; many begin to save here. But who knows, for example, how much further study costs? And many people do not have time for theaters, movies or concerts because of the second economy. A study to be done next year will prove or refute our hypothesis that general culture does not increase in direct proportion to the level of schooling.

/Question/ Statistics differentiate more and more; that is, they not only give an average but also describe the circumstances of different groups of society according to certain principles of classification. Thus they come closer to individuals. But the individual believes himself to be an exception a priori. Many feel that statistics is a "lordly occupation," and only the initiated recognize themselves in the officially published data.

/Answer/ We regard the accessibility of statistics to be a democratic requirement. We publish our research findings. But since everyone really is not oriented in them we regularly publish information reports. For example, we provide data and analyses on health, housing and automobile supply in the standard of living pamphlets. Our pamphlet titled "Income of the Populace; Social Insurance and Family Policy" appeared most recently. He who reads it may compare his own opinion and feeling with our information. We have an interest in seeing that more and more inhabitants of the country become acquainted with the real situation of our society and economy and on the basis of this weigh the achievements and problems of himself and his family.

8984

CSO: 2500/312

RADIO PRESIDENT DISCUSSES PROGRAMMING TASKS, AIMS

Budapest, RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG in Hungarian 30 Apr-6 May 84 p 3

[Interview with Dr Istvan Hars, President of Hungarian Radio; date and place not given]

[Text] At the Radio everyone knows about the president that it is not difficult to talk to him either about programming or personal matters and that he gladly participates in discussions concerning everyday tasks or long-range plans. But he does not like to make a statement, for his principle is that the Radio should speak for itself day after day, answering the listeners' questions by what is or is not broadcast. But the program cannot answer every question; this is how this discussion is taking place.

[Question] The Radio is a constant, premanent and stable part of our lives, both for the individual and society.

[Answer] Yes. The radio is an important factor of the mass communication system. But we had to accept the fact that television became more important. I am not saying this to complain but the fact is, this reality determines for decades to come the radio's entire concept and necessity of adaptation. The radio may be said to be constant and permanent also because the people who work there are well-prepared, dedicated and responsible people. However, this stability should not be exaggerated for the radio must, again and again, captivate the listener. Our listeners--practically the country's entire population--do not forget our beautiful and memorable productions or mistakes. Thus we must not only work hard so that the audience will trust us and listen to us; it is also a condition for stability that the radio must be regularly updated according to the demands of the audience. Every editor and co-worker must fight against dullness and routine so that our stability can be coupled with a constant renewal that is adapting to the changes of life.

[Question] The radio has many functions: it informs, makes people think, offers artistic experience, entertains, etc. Which one of these is the most important at this time?

/Answer/ As dictated today by our age, I put information service in the first place. And we must carry out this task in a complex manner: we must give fast, exact and realistic information about events and we must give fact, exact and realistic answers to the listener's questions, i.e., we must speak concisely and understandably about the background and causes of events.

/Question/ The radio's growth was accompanied by the growth of the listener as well.

/Answer/ Our audience is both constant and changing. Age composition and the level of education are changing. It is a nice thing to have a large audience, and it is promising that this audience has increased somewhat in the past year. Our raison d'etre is the audience, thus the most important thing is that people listen to us. And we really do appreciate our listeners, for there are programs--e.g., the morning programs, the Noon Chronicle and the cabaret--that are listened to by a million-and-a-half people; the audience of several political programs--the 168 Hours, the Saturday Morning, the Fifth Gear and the Pocket Radio--is significant, and several entertainment programs have audiences in the 100,000's. But we also have programs that are listened to "only" by 1 percent, i.e., 80,000 people. We think it is a great honor when 80,000 people listen to an opera, a concert, or a radio play. We must appreciate the fact that these programs offer values for this particular audience.

/Question/ Does the radio keep up with the growth of the audience and with its widening view? For instance, can we make the audience used to the fact that one or another question may have several answers and can we make them decide on their own which answer they want to accept? In other words, does the radio as a democratic forum offer adequate opportunities for including various opinions and views emerging in society and the economy?

/Answer/ Our starting point is that the radio's task is to explain government policies and to disseminate government concepts and socialist values. At the same time, we allow room for various views and opinions, of course, within the given political framework. Whether we always do this right, is uncertain. We do not always initiate a debate or polemics where that would be warranted; statements and declarations are still rather frequent. Without making the radio a kind of permanent and huge debate club, there is a lot of room for improvement, we should show more clearly, through a confrontation of opinions, the way of complex societal and economic processes and decisions.

/Question/ Is it conceivable to allow in the radio various opinions in questions of the arts and sciences?

/Answer/ It is conceivable, and it does happen, but I am not sure whether this is good. It happened that two programs presented two

opinions about a new scientific discovery. I am not saying that the radio should pass judgement or should announce unchallengeable opinions. For it may happen that, let us say, a youth program--considering youth's views--approaches a film or literary work differently than a special program, but it would be detrimental if a work would be critiqued 4 or 5 different ways in 4 or 5 different programs. This would work against the radio's credibility. And deciding on scientific etc. questions is not the responsibility of the radio but that of the Academy or other professional institutions.

/Question/ What immediate tasks does the Radio's Presidium face at present?

/Answer/ It is a constant factor to follow, explain and clarify the complex world situation and world economic situation. The task presented by our domestic economic and socio-political situation is also great: to help society in its self-assessment and the assessment of the situation without suggesting any kind of negativism or pessimism.

/Question/ The subject nowadays in our Radio's conferences and meetings is the modernization of the program structure, due in the fall. It would be too early to talk about it now. It would be easier to talk about long-range concepts.

/Answer/ Because of economic difficulties that affect us, too, some of our plans must be, unfortunately, postponed but we hope that some of them will be implemented indeed by the end of the '80's. The most important of these is the development of radio programs around the country: we would like to establish new area studios in Szeged and Debrecen. And I hope it is not utopian to imagine that by the decade's end a few cities will have their own radio stations to meet the greatly increased interest in local affairs. The Radio Petofi's nonstop broadcasting during the night is not too far off. There is hardly a country in Europe where there is no 24-hour domestic broadcasting. But we are also planning to improve the programs during the vacationing season and, on the whole, to offer a greater selection during the entire day.

Incidentally, I think that the future of radio listening lies in the maximal use of its inherent potentials. These are: faster coverages of events in all areas, better information, a faster reaction both in the sphere of politics and that of the arts, mobility and, again, giving more room for local interest. In addition, the demands of the various groups of listeners must be met, including a wider selection for youth in order to make a stable audience out of the younger age groups.

/Question/ The relations between the Radio and TV is an oft-recurring topic. In the beginning there was a childish competition between certain radio and TV people; today they cooperate more and help one another. For instance, in programs of foreign affairs and news, they call attention to one another's productions. But to date, the public failed to understand

why the programming of the two institutions are not adequately coordinated, how it is possible that an adaptation of the same literary work is being broadcast on the same day by both the radio and the TV.

/Answer/ Instead of competing, we are helping one another, that is the point. We must depend on one another, our programs must be related. We definitely have a good rapport with the TV's executives. With regard to programming, the radio must adapt to the TV, with consideration to its programs and program structure. It is a mistake, of course, if the same play is broadcast simultaneously, but it is impossible to rigidly coordinate the programs. Partly because the radio program, finalized earlier, cannot adequately adapt to the TV's more flexible programming. The fact that we look at TV in planning topics and programs also means that we watch what the public speaks about. However, it is an unrealistic demand that we should not play music when TV plays music or that when TV broadcasts an opera, we should not broadcast an opera, for the two operas are probably not the same. In other words, they meet different demands.

/Question/ With reference to the public's observations: there are many complaints that there is too much music or too much prose in the radio.

/Answer/ There is not too much music. The 60 to 62 percent is a traditionally proven ratio. At any rate, it is good that there are people who expect more information and literature from the radio and that the premieres of radio theaters have a large audience. A lack of balance does exist from time to time, especially on Sundays or some weekdays when all 3 programs constantly play music or prose. We must also be careful that when 2 programs play music simultaneously, it should not be the same kind of music.

/Question/ Since Program 3 has "grown up," the individual profile of the Kossuth, the Petofi and the 3rd program has become more apparent. But sometimes the differences become rather vague. The Petofi has a serious program, Program 3 has folk music, brass music, more than enough beat etc. Would it not be appropriate to make the Kossuth the program of "adults," the Petofi the program of youth, and Program 3 the program of all age groups?

/Answer/ True, the profiles are not consistent. We have chosen a special way. We do not make programs that consist only of music and news, as is so fashionable abroad. This necessitated compromises in the area of profiles. Only the future will show whether this is good or not. And Hungary has characteristic practices in other areas as well. Incidentally, a better separation of the 3 programs--from the aspect of profile and content--is on the agenda. The new program structure will mean a small step forward.

/Question/ Do you, as the Radio's president, listen to radio only in your official capacity or also as a private citizen?

/Answer/ I am a "stable" radio listener, and I like the program very much. I hope this does not sound like an official's defensiveness.

/Question/ And do you also watch TV?

/Answer/ Of course. I always watch the News, the Week, the Studio '84, the Panorama, and those programs which promise something interesting. And, generally, they do not fall short of my expectations. Thus my free time is booked. I think others are the same way. As if the evening program of the Radio Magazine were supplemented by a column that includes reading material and even family and social tasks. There is such a wide selection every day.

9414

CSO: 2500/329

## INTERRELATIONSHIP OF REFORMS, SOCIAL POLICY NOTED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 May 84 p 4

[Excerpts] On Monday, the academic departments of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences started their meetings. These meetings coincide with the general meeting to be held during the middle of the week. At those departmental meetings they evaluate and compile the results of research in social and natural sciences, debate the conclusions, and decide upon further angles to pursue....

After academician and department chairman Jozsef Bognar's introduction, Istvan Huszar, director of the Institute for Sociology analysed the inter-relationship of economic and social issues. He pointed out that one should not look at social or economic questions by themselves or separately. He noted furthermore, that with the further development of the economic reforms, the effects on non-economic spheres have to be assessed also. Today it is obvious that without the resolution of economic problems (partial solutions), the existing societal pressures will remain in place. So we must continue with the reforms with no undue haste.

Kalman Kulcsar held a lecture about reform and social policy. In his introduction he noted that with the continuing development of economic reforms, social policy becomes all the more important. According to the speaker, social policy is attempting to reduce disadvantage which arose in the current and long-term development of Hungarian society, theoretically independent of work or work performance. Disadvantages formed outside the work sphere are to be reduced by social policy.

These stated social policy goals can be achieved only if the economy's income producing capability is expanded. This is only possible, if all of society's capability to produce rises. The links are very complicated, as can be detected from the following example. It is well known that the "higher the performance, higher the wage" concept or even practice does not result in better performance, if the money thus earned cannot be spent. (Or if there is an excessive income tax which equalizes incomes or if there is a lack of goods in proper quantities and qualities.)

However, an even worse danger arises if the coercion for higher performance does not develop.



During discussions about the reforms, it was brought up that some suffered a decline in living standards due to the reforms. However, social policy measures could be used to maintain a constant standard of living. But it must be made clear which benefits are truly instruments of social policy. Of the so-called countermeasures, the maintenance of constant real pensions is the most "elegant." But in reality the pension system does not belong entirely to the concept of social policy. This is because the disadvantage did not develop independently from work but is a consequence of time spent at work. Nevertheless, it is beyond dispute that pensions today comprise the majority of social policy benefits.

The lecturer questioned whether or not the following are truly social policy expenditures: disability payments, family allowances, maternity payments or consumer (price) subsidies. Currently the social policy measures are entirely correctionary in nature. In this form, positive changes in the economy are factors which increase tension in society as a whole. For this reason, it is important to define the parameters and assignments of social policy which are related to the reforms.

All in all, social policy benefits depend on the performance potential of the economy. In addition, parallel to the realization of the reforms, change is also needed in the field of social policy instruments.

Rezso Nyers, economic advisor to the Institute of Economics, analyzed the interrelationship of economic reform and socialist national awareness. He supported the need for reform with an analogy. "Our national cake is too small compared to our national appetite. Therefore we don't have to change the way we slice it, instead we have to make the cake bigger."

CSO: 2500/348

UNIVERSITY NEWSPAPERS TEST, RESIST CONVENTIONAL LIMITS

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian No 1, 1984 pp 42-48

[Article by Szilard Biernaczky, Edit Halai and Rozsa Salgo: "University Newspapers"]

[Text] The university newspaper is an in-house periodical. Its task, like that of any other enterprise periodical, is to participate in the shaping of local political life. Its task is a common one, but still there are as many different kinds as there are university newspapers--this is what a competent trio writes about, namely, the editor of UNIVERSITY PAGES at the Lorand Eotvos University, of the ENGINEER OF THE FUTURE at the Budapest Technical University, and of the ECONOMIST at the Karl Marx University of Economics.

The in-house and institutional newspapers of Hungary (or at least some of them) are unique in respect to their basic intentions, and more precisely in respect to the requirements placed on them. Those printed newspapers which appear at least fortnightly (there are 11 in the country) make an effort time and again, for example, to become professional newspapers. This is simply impossible. It is well known that at most of the in-house and institutional newspapers it is beginners who are assigned positions, and they cannot always come out with mature pieces of writing; and what is more, their efforts are directed not at polished writing but at experimentation.

The editorial board limits that are placed on university newspapers (in general one editor plus three working associates and an administrator) are so defined, like those of other institutional and some in-house newspapers, that there is a need for outside contributors. This characteristic organizational form is justified because it is precisely the local nature of these newspapers that makes the role of outside contributors so important. The ECONOMIST, for example, has an activist network of 25 to 30 persons, consisting of young teachers and students. In the editorial office at present there is one editor, one reporter and a junior clerk. But no particular problem is caused by shortages of personnel because fortunately from the very beginning the ECONOMIST has been helped out by young teachers and students who want to participate in preparing the newspaper, and thus when it comes to the deadline the problem is not the lack of written materials but the lack of space to fit them in.

It is impossible, therefore, to speak of professionalism. Even after editing, most of the articles remain "amateur" work, nor do the literary attempts which are published--aside from a few exceptions--reach the level of ES or KORTARS. But the university newspapers must give to all those who sense the calling the taste of a start that is full of elemental joys and failures. University newspapers have a characteristic role in the life of higher educational institutions. A significant ratio of those who pass from a university--whether engineers, economists, physicians or astronomers--will have to "come down to writing" in the remaining part of their lives. The role of the university publication at the Lorand Eotvos University as a first-time publication opportunity is heightened by the fact that it is the philosophy faculty--and more recently, the legal faculty in accordance with old traditions--that supply the most recruits to Hungarian literature and newspaper writing. Some engineering students also will become journalists, as well as some political workers--from the university KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] and party committee agitation-propaganda secretary to the leader of the Budapest KISZ--who were formerly printers at the technical university. The interest of the students at the Karl Marx University of Economics derives from the public life activity that is rounded out in their lives with the social sciences. The university affords opportunities in this respect, one of which is the ECONOMIST. Thus the newspaper not only has a propaganda and agitation but also a community-formation role.

Generally, five or six students work in the editorial office during a school year. But in more active years the number may be as high as ten. It is possible to follow their development in the columns of the newspaper from the very first report or small local color story--the subject of which is freely chosen by the beginners--all the way to the farewell article written at the end of university studies. At the ECONOMIST they learn a number of things which are not course materials at the university: how to put down their ideas intelligently, to prepare for a subject interview, to collect materials, to ask questions about essential matters, to become accustomed to and grow with the public. But they learn not only newspaper writing and the accompanying responsibility but also how to fight for the publication right of the most questionable articles and to fight the skirmishes after publication. Regarding this a student wrote the following in his final year with the ECONOMIST: "With little exaggeration I may say that in this way I learned more about Hungarian public life, democracy, internal political life and the ideological and political expectations facing the participating citizen than all in all from a number of years of study in philosophy and scientific socialism..."

#### Whom Should the Newspaper Speak To?

What is a good university newspaper like? This is how the students, teachers and the leading bodies put it at the University of Economics: It should contribute to the manysided preparations of a socialist intelligentsia. In the course of periodic evaluations the university vb [executive committee] strengthens the editorial board in its efforts to give priority to those political and ideological questions which occupy the interest of university public opinion. It supports the student centrism of the paper in its effort to prepare for publication by relying primarily on student journalists.

Among the instructors there are many who are pleased to see the newspaper deal with political, ideological and professional questions in articles aimed at current subjects occupying public opinion, but they react extremely sensitively to articles critical of teaching. In such cases they accuse the editorial board of prejudice and one-sidedness. But aside from all this they rarely react to criticism in the form of a written answer or debate article.

The student body welcomes the presentation in the *ECONOMIST* of problems regarding teaching, and the related articles on this subject, for they deal with matters that in their view cut to the bone (most recently there appeared a series of articles on the modernization of training).

An outside observer may think that nothing could be easier than to edit a newspaper at the Lorand Eotvos University. The three faculties of the university are filled with professors of national and even international reputation who are not only experienced in science but also frequently are editors-publicists or even editors on national dailies, weeklies, monthlies or various journals. The truth is, however, that it is these famous personalities from whom it is most difficult to get an article for the local newspaper. In some cases, even preparations for an interview run into complications. In many cases the situation is no less difficult in regard to students. Frequently, at the beginning of his university career, a student is imbued with community enthusiasm and will react also in writing to public life events of the institution, but by the second, third and fourth year this enthusiasm will lose its wind from disappointment. And even when the demand for written self-expression continues, it inclines only to cultural (and possibly external) events, film, theater and literary criticism.

Like any other institution, the Budapest Technical University has its independent, characteristic world, and in this way it differs in many ways from other universities. What we feel is an important difference from the journalistic point of view is above all the large "mature" personnel and their great numbers. There are about 5,500 full-time students, 1,500 night and correspondent students, and more than 5,000 instructors, scientific workers, college and technical personnel, librarians, health, maintenance, investment, planning accounting and labor affairs personnel. A great deal of "productive" work is also being conducted at the university: as is well known this means the realization of research and industrial contractual tasks.

The university is time-honored--with the current school year it will be 200 years old--and some of its traditions have existed for a long, long time and are still being handed down effectively. There are good and bad elements in these traditions. As we see it, respect for natural science thinking is a very good "engineering tradition," a certain sobriety, the high rank given to creative activity, the avoidance of self-consuming "philosophizing," the liveliness of debate, and above all their operational nature. But the lack of balance in the concept of hierarchy, rank, prestige, esteem and career is not a good technical university tradition: once it may manifest itself as excessive respect, and on another occasion it may be an overcompensated denial degenerating to arrogance, or a strange combination of the two.

The JM [ENGINEER OF THE FUTURE] is undeniably a much "more mature" paper than those at various other institutions of higher learning: the guiding leadership bodies or the desires and ideas of the university society themselves push it in this direction as well as the relationship which determines its ties with the students (although this relationship is also obviously a consequence of the newspaper's nature).

The newspaper tries to select subjects which are of university importance, or which may find signs of interest in the whole university and possibly extend to a number of faculties.

#### Do We Need a Central Newspaper?

At the Lorand Eotvos University as well as at other universities, heated debates were provoked by the idea that there is no need for a central university newspaper because it is combed over too carefully, it is full of protocol texts dictated by the university, state and social leadership, it does not give free scope to the development of the young, and thus is boring, gray and uninteresting. Instead of the institutional, central newspaper, the role of the local press is filled much more competently by the so-called "department newspapers" which are not afraid to express what is difficult, and the students themselves and the KISZ members make up their own newspapers. But the institutional "central press organ" as it is now billed has also been criticized from another aspect. A former rector of the Lorand Eotvos University once found that the newspaper was filled with dilettante writings and weak attempts of the students--"for example, how much better the travel reports written by Ivan Boldizsar are in the ES"--and therefore we ought to put an end to the "creative club" aspect. It would be much better if UNIVERSITY PAGES would publish the various official measures, orders, local operational resolutions and information on the sessions held by various bodies, and then we would not need the monthly UNIVERSITY BULLETIN published by the director of the secretariat in the rector's office.

Still, and in some cases "successfully," UNIVERSITY PAGES was swept away for several years by a series of incidents closely related to the KISZ activity crisis. The university KISZ leadership at that time, for the want of something better, produced stencils by the ton, and manufactured theoretical questions and mile-long analyses from subject which had a purely local value. Then depending on the talent, some of the mass of materials was put into the columns of UNIVERSITY PAGES with their length defended to the last ditch, their poor style, their clumsiness frightening away even those in whom some demand for action was still alive.

In short, the tidal wave of conflicts and accumulations of various local "press products" stimulated the discovery of the solution to the realization that although basically the university is uniform in character--many of the students and instructors who work in the faculties and the central offices acquired their diplomas at the same institution, that is, they are "natives"--the written forms of information exchange are not on one plane, ideas designed for conceptualization do not seek "expression possibilities" in one form. On the contrary, a characteristic system of various kinds of publications has developed including here stenciled materials for big and small sub-classes and groups.

At present, all three faculties of the Lorand Eotvos University have a KISZ newspaper. They appear in 10 to 40 pages and in 100 to 500 copies in stenciled form and are quite different in their subject matter and manner of presentation. Their great value is student vigor, discounting certain--excessively ingrained--limits. These newspapers stir the greatest reactions in the university, or more exactly in the departments. But even the outside reader, whether he wants to be or not, is struck by the "candid lack of experience" which is so often evoked by many great writers in Hungarian literature with nostalgia when they have matured past the age of 30. But it is exactly their greatest value--their spontaneity--that limits their operations. As a consequence of the ideas evoked by first impulses and the capriciousness stemming from it, even intelligent ideas, comments, positions and proposals frequently miss their goals. Because of misunderstanding, it is often inexperience in written work that causes debates on the "more smoke than fire" variety, although the original idea may have been rational and timely. Another limit to student publications is the fact that the timing of their appearance is greatly influenced by the university work schedule. Also, they are bound for the most part to the activities of a single school year or professional group, and when the enthusiasm of the well "selected" group dies out as university studies move on, the newspaper in question may disappear for a full year. An important exception to this rule--although here, too we are speaking of the work of several talented and enthusiastic students over one school year--is the PROKATOR, the KISZ newspaper of the legal faculty (a number of its editors and writers started their writing careers in the columns of UNIVERSITY PAGES). The above-mentioned UNIVERSITY BULLETIN frequently appears in contracted form (embracing materials of 2 to 3 months), and reaches first of all the instructors. I would also like to add here two periodical-type publications to help give an awareness of the characteristic "university press system." One is the EGYETEM ES TARSADALOM fascicles which are devoted to a treatise type expression of local and national educational problems, and the other is the MEDVETANC, which undoubtedly is the highest level undertaking of the KISZ university organization. Its value, however, does not derive from the fact that it assumes responsibility sometimes for conceptualizing social science subjects which are inadequately treated or for dealing with questions that are hard to put into words, but rather from the fact that it meets the standards of social science periodicals.

#### Debate and Cooperation

Department newspapers have been published for 7 to 8 years at the technical university. Amid a great deal of debate and tremendous enthusiasm, they were established by the department KISZ organizations or the university KISZ committee. Many did not understand why they were needed since a university newspaper already existed. But the KISZ activist group which started the operation of the student department press knew more or less what it wanted. It emerged in the first concept that this was an opposition newspaper. One which does not recognize protocol, is more independent, does not concern itself with "overall university" points of view, openly writes of the student point of view which in some instances does not even spare esteemed persons...It gives scope to the departments and to the smallest developments relating to student life, including

those things which as a matter of course are not included in the university newspaper, and also those things which in the spirit of the above-mentioned institutional prestige was not deemed fit for public discussion or suitable to bring to the attention of the country and the world. The students here demanded, and are demanding that they be allowed to write as they can without particular official and adult interference. As their independence grew, they could not even put up at times with criticism about their spelling....

How did the relations of the JM with the departments develop? It was not easy for it to swallow the fact that the department newspaper could fulfill a role which people might conceive as being the role of the university newspaper, and that the total copies of department papers exceeded that of the university newspaper. The young workers on the editorial board took pleasure for several weeks in pointing out the unclear, poorly written articles of the student newspapers, the political immaturity, the passionately old-conservative articles that reviled women, and the spelling errors. In response, on the other hand, the student newspaper wrote pamphlets reviling the JM.

At the behest of the party organization, however, they soon dropped the rivalry, and in several months there appeared in the JM a column entitled "Our Side of It" taken from student writings. And KISZ helped in the harmonization of the two types of press activities with dozens of ideas and a great effort. The staff of the department editorial board--followed since then by other generations--found that many of the things for which they blamed the JM were due to its role and position, but this role, too, has its right to exist the same as their own. For its part the JM came to realize it was acquiring outstanding possibilities through the department newspapers. In addition to selected articles in "Our Side of It" they received articles on many other subjects, especially of the kind that are difficult to research. A commotion over a studies program written from the student point of view (daily 6 hours of lectures with a 3-hour break is the same as working 9 hours a day at the university, and what is more, 3 of these are superfluous) provides very interesting material for an analytical article, for example, about conflicting instructor and student interests in the course of program preparation.

It may happen that the JM has a debate with the department newspapers--as it is the obligation of agitation work to do--and deals with behavioral phenomena (in some cases not only in articles) which also appear with dangerous aspects in press work. (For example: generalization on the basis of too little information, or the acceptance of gossip as truth, and so forth.) It publishes information which makes it clear why this matter or that is without foundation; this is how genuine publicistic articles can be written, and this is how a newspaper frees itself from the swirl of generalizations. True, this may give rise to anger, for a student has self-esteem, and an engineering student may have even more than ordinary.

Someone appeared at the JM editorial office with the statement, for example, that democracy is mentioned so often today because living conditions are deteriorating, the leadership is offering "circus" instead of bread, and as solace it is permitting greater freedom of speech. The newspaper staff members wrote that one should conceive of this in a different way. Instead

of representing it as cynicism, simplification and lack of confidence, one should accept that greater democracy can make a society more suitable for overcoming difficult tasks. One of their partners in the discussions at the time became "alienated" from the editorial board because they did not publish his world-redeeming idea, and in fact they disputed him. Unfortunately, there are losses like this. Among students, in fact among young politicians, there are some who find it difficult to accept contradiction and debate--they found those from whom they could learn. The JM acknowledges and publishes rightful objections, criticism and refutations which it receives from the department newspapers. It happened on one occasion that it published a rosy--official--statement on the renovation of a college. The student newspapers refuted the story, and the editors of the university newspaper had to admit they allowed themselves to be influenced.

Finally, the extremely simple but exceedingly important lesson may be gathered from the foregoing that the university newspaper must carry out its tasks in the matrix of a characteristic and complicated communication system with many steps and channels.

#### Calm and Storm

University life and the university press are fluctuating in a characteristic way. Active generations, rebellious in the most noble sense of the word, are followed by gray, disinterested and indifferent generations. School years "pregnant" with students who have the talents of writers and poets, the capabilities of good newspaper writers, publicists or researchers are followed by student groups that are less talented, or at least find it much more difficult to express and present themselves.

But university public life is also fluctuating. Frequently the months go by uneventfully, nothing happens that we can truthfully say "belongs in the newspaper." At other times, however, the all too noisy events, the excessive debates and reform ideas, the excessive committee work is transformed into its opposite, and after several issues reports on these same matters produce only a reaction of indifference. Unfortunately, the always noble intention of party committees and advisory councils of the rector that a given newspaper should be above all a partner in the realization of university policy is not enough in itself to meet the demand for an interesting, colorful newspaper. Despite the homogeneous nature of universities, interests are strongly stratified. From this point of view the ECONOMIST is in the most favorable situation. Thus the editorial board was glad to try to meet the hunger of the readers for current political and educational reform problems and conflicts of view. In publishing articles and serial articles on various problems of this nature, light was shed on many different kinds of view--and in fact, on ill feelings and antipathies.

Most recently a series of articles on Hungarian consciousness was left unfinished, In respect to the plastic condition no one dared say yes or no in response to the questions that rose about the national consciousness.



Sometimes an actual war is waged around a given article between the editorial board and the representatives of the "university interests," with tactical battles (for example, frequent promises), frontal attacks (for example, rigid prohibition), armistices (the article is "laid to bed") and finally a peace treaty (when the article appears after mutual concessions). But not only are the preliminary battles exciting. Some articles also have an "afterlife." The fewer the opposing views which are published in the newspaper the more objections are heard to an article or author by way of informal channels. The development of a strained atmosphere at such times slackens the confidence of the writer and editor, and as a result the editorial board's freedom of action is reduced and for a period of time fewer interesting articles are published. But the patience of the readers must not be put to test for too long of a time. The editorial board learns about the reception given to the ECONOMIST partly from feedback following appearance and partly from knowing how many copies were circulated. About one-half of the university's entire personnel reads the newspaper. Of course, this is only an assumption based on newspaper circulation. Probably a greater ratio reads it, for in the dormitory rooms of the colleges more than one person will read an issue (or in some boring lecture).

The newspaper is circulated only to a small extent by way of subscription; most of the interested readers buy their copy at the gate. The number of copies sold also stimulates the writers to prepare a good newspaper. Seldom are any copies sent back unsold.

Not all the students who write for the ECONOMIST want to become journalists, in fact the number has been constantly declining in recent years. Five or six years ago six students would find positions at the end of the school year with various newspapers and the Radio. Now there is hardly more than one. The career is not too attractive: the pay is low (an apprentice 3,000 forints, a writer with 5 years experience 3,600 forints). Pay raises are much slower than for a professional economist. And still the fact that there are some who are willing to start their career on the editorial board can be explained by the fact that it gives greater opportunity for self-education than other careers (language learning, specialization in social sciences, and so forth). After 2 or 3 years, however, the writers--no matter how attractive the sparkling intellectual life of the university--leave the ECONOMIST and go to larger newspapers for higher pay.

They do so even though they are well aware that on the national newspapers it will be years before they will be able to deal with as exciting subjects as on a university newspaper with small circulation.

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PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION SURVEYED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 3, Mar 84 pp 5-17

[Article by Henryk Bednarski: "Marxism-Leninism and the Development of the Social Sciences in the PRL"]

I

[Text] Scholarship is and always will be one of the main factors forming the face of socialist Poland. Hence on its level depends, to an important degree, the fulfillment of today's and tomorrow's needs of society--both material and spiritual. The further socioeconomic development of the country requires, therefore, that there be radical change in the development of both theoretical and applied scientific research. Society expects increased participation of Polish science and technology, especially in the implementation of programs for feeding the nation, health care and environmental development, education and child development, housing construction, the raw materials and fuel-energy bases and the transformation of economic structures and methods of administration.

The social sciences play an especially lofty role in the life of the nation. Their role is inestimable in the areas of the formation of culture and opinion as well as education. Particularly inestimable is their role in the formation of individual and social consciousness as well as in the dissemination of the values of socialist humanism. Enlarging the creative role of the social sciences in the service of the nation and the state is an urgent task both for today and in the strategic plan.

For that reason, the fundamental task of the party is the rebuilding, strengthening and development of the Marxist-Leninist position in all of the social sciences. The application of Marxist-Leninist theories and methods in the process of analyzing social phenomena and processes is one of the fundamental conditions for "assuring the party of a close connection between courageous, penetrating theoretical thought and day-to-day activity, drawing from the development of theory and a critical approach to reality the inspiration for the formulation of the party's programs and policy."<sup>1</sup>

Marxism-Leninism is an ideology, as well as being a scientific social theory. It arose, both as an ideology and a science of the most progressive social class--the proletariat, as the expression of the needs for the development of the material life of society, of the historically essential tasks of the revolutionary passage from capitalism to socialism. It was born on the philosophical turf of dialectical and historical materialism, as a result of the scientific analysis of the development of society.

Marxism-Leninism is the only ideology that explains, rather than mystifies, reality, the only one that does not adopt the fiction of an undifferentiated mass of people making up a society as such, and the only one that, while openly advancing to first place the interests of the working class, is at the same time a scientific ideology. The class character of Marxist-Leninist ideology does not at all exclude its character of being for all the people, for the liberation of the working class and the building of a classless society are a prerequisite for the liberation of all people.

Hence the Marxist-Leninist ideology constitutes a future-oriented vision for the human development of the world, indicates for the worker movement the causes and tendencies of changes in existing social conditions, formulates criteria for the evaluation of current practice, makes possible the differentiation between less important and more essential matters and indicates the roads and bridges that link future-oriented vision with today.

Growing out of scientific research on reality, the Marxist-Leninist ideology becomes richer as progress is made in research. For there is no opposition between truth and the interests of working people, between sciences and their ideology. Quite the contrary, "the more objectively and impartially science<sup>2</sup> behaves, the more it accords with the interests and desires of the workers." So Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but rather a scientific interpretation of the historic process of development, its changing character and continuity. F. Engels wrote: "Our theory is a developing theory and not a dogma to be learned by heart and mechanically repeated."<sup>3</sup> At the same time, he pointed out those "that, having more or less mastered this reasonable theory--as far as its dogmatic side is concerned--become a common sect, because they are unable to comprehend the living theory of activity, work with the working class at every stage of its development except as a collection of dogmas to be learned by heart and repeated like prayerful formulas or curses."<sup>4</sup>

In that light, we must always firmly oppose both the attempts to accommodate ideology to one-slot needs of the political struggle, as well as doctrinaire interference in practical operations merely because they conform to ideological dogmas often adopted from another period. V. Lenin wrote: "We do not treat the theory of Marx as something completed and not to be touched; on the contrary, we are convinced that it only laid the cornerstone of a science that specialists must develop further in every direction, if they do not want to remain behind reality."<sup>5</sup> If one bypasses this essential side of Marxism, "one makes of Marxism something degenerate and moribund, taking away from it its living soul, undermining its fundamental theoretical bases--the dialectic, the science of a historic development that is comprehensive and full of opposition, undermining the link between Marxism and the historic period's concrete, practical needs that can change with every new historic turn."<sup>6</sup>

Contrary to what bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians assert, the Marxist-Leninist ideology is not in opposition to scientific objectivity, but rather constitutes its expression. V. Lenin always demanded of the party that its "views of social phenomena be based on a relentlessly objective analysis of reality and real development (...)." <sup>7</sup> Expressing the interests of the working class, this ideology should, more than any other, take care to be a scientific reflection of reality, for the goals of that class are totally in accord with historical progress. There is not, and never has been, any opposition between the truth and the interests of the workers. Therefore, "our science should not remain a dead letter, banal platitudes (which, we do not have to hide it, happens so often in our country); science should really get into our blood, indeed it should fully become a real staple element of our daily life." <sup>8</sup>

Marxist-Leninist ideology can develop only in close association with social practice that supplies this ideology with cognitive material and verifies its assumptions. However, Marxism-Leninism is not merely a supplement to, and affirmation of, practice. While it is an outgrowth of sociopolitical practice, it also provides the revolutionary workers' movement with a way of viewing the world and forms the goals of this movement, its approaches and methods of operation. At the same time, sociopolitical practice, in creating new facts and transforming the social power structure, introduces historically valid corrections and additions to ideology. "It is essential that we master the undeniable truth that the Marxist must deal with real life, taking into account the strict facts of reality, and not continuing stubbornly to uphold yesterday's theories that, like all theories, at best merely outline basic, general truths and merely attempt to embrace the complexities of life." <sup>9</sup>

## II

In light of the preceding reconstruction of Marxist-Leninist theory and of its methods of analyzing reality, despite its brevity and necessary simplification, the validity and scientific usefulness of Marxism-Leninism cannot be denied. Then what is the reason for the theoretical and ideological weaknesses that exist and for the disorientation of the social science communities in Poland in this regard, including those that are founded on Marxism? There are many reasons for this situation.

One of the primary causes of the weaknesses of the social sciences in Poland, chronic weaknesses that are characteristic of nearly the entire period of People's Poland, lies in the social and political attitude of a large part of the humanities-oriented intelligentsia, in its vacillations, in its incomplete or improper understanding of the idea of socialism and in its tendency to examine the social and political problems of socialism through the prism of traditional, essentially bourgeois views.

Especially in some centers, the social sciences have been penetrated with the influence of bourgeois ideology and revisionism, as well as the tendency to advocate what may be called "worldwide academic coexistence" abstracted from the class essence of the social sciences. In many academic centers, bourgeois liberalism and revisionism have become the driving force of the rightist political opposition. They have led to the deep ideological disorientation of

some young people and they have been a major causative force of their antisocialist pronouncements.

Many scholars that call themselves liberals, democrats and the like treat scholarship quite instrumentally, as a weapon of political struggle, in this way implementing consciously or unconsciously the social command of imperialism. Nor are the attitudes of militant irrationalism, obscurantism and clericalism foreign to them. One of the goads spurring the views of Polish scholars is the organized applause in the West of anyone in Poland that manifests his disinclination to socialism in one way or another. This includes "material incentives" in the form of stipends, invitations and the like that play on the ideological and moral defects of people, their snobbery and their inferiority complex with regard to supposedly "objective Western science."

A second, no less important cause of the weakness of the social sciences in Poland lies in the false notion developed over years according to which theoretical thought exclusively was to justify current political practice and to mold attitudes fostering the implementation of this politics. This tended to limit the freedom of research and to expand the apologetic strain in the social sciences with regard to political practice. Naturally, the apologetic stance taken toward politics had to force out critical positions and limited the scientific analysis of reality. It also hampered the articulation of society's aims and weakened the capacity to predict the development of the processes occurring in society. On the other hand, the results of the Marxist research of social sciences centers that pointed out departures in political practice from the laws of social development and the principles of socialism and indicated the need to change such policy, as a rule remained on the sidelines of the party's officially circulating theoretical thought.

Particularly in the 1970's, this situation fostered tendencies of the scientific negation of ideology as a system of ideals, values and general directives of action and the comprehension of Marxism-Leninism as a theory devoid of these elements and amounting only to analysis and description. Despite the intentions of the spokesmen for this position--frequently it was a defensive reaction to the danger of theoretical apologetics--it led to the vitiation of the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory and weakened its influence on social practice, especially on the formation of the social consciousness. This was accompanied by a growing lack of criticism of doctrines that opposed Marxism and, under their influence, growing criticism of Marxist ideology.

As a result there was no link between creative theoretical thought that confronted new phenomena and the practice of social life. This situation, however, was not only the result of the weaknesses and the disorientation of the theoretical communities. Some theoreticians assumed positions that were, in effect, an abandonment of Marxism. How else does one interpret their unreflecting praise of theoretical and ideological pluralism and their opposition to the upbringing function of Marxist-Leninist ideology expressed in the slogan of the negation of "Marxist ideological indoctrination"?

The breakdown of the link between theory and practice primarily was the result of the model of the exercise of authority that was dominant in the 1970's, in which ideology was supplanted by the technocratic-bureaucratic interpretation of the phenomena of social life. Since it was convenient, it was forgotten that ideology that creates a set of directives by which authorities are bound, that defines the criteria for assessing their actions and that marks out the scope of allowable compromises is in essence in conflict with a purely functional, and even more, a voluntaristic and bureaucratic way of governing.

Thus, there occurred the gradual de-ideologization of the manner of exercising authority and the cutting off of political decisionmaking from the control that was based on ideological criteria. Among a large part of the leadership cadre, the sphere of a sort of ideological dilettantism grew broader and, in its wake, the understanding of the sense of ideology and of the meaning of theory in social life was lost.

Thus the tendency toward narrow practicality and toward eliminating theory from political work crystalized in this form. Soon the prophetic words of V. Lenin would prove true, that "a lack of theory deprives the revolutionary movement of its right to exist and inevitably dooms it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy." 10

The crisis of theory also resulted from the disenchantment with ideological phraseology expressed in the growing disparity between slogans and their realization. This caused a disinclination to the ideals of socialism and meant that these ideals were treated as utopic or unrealistic. This situation undermined confidence in the party and its policy, even destroying it in many milieus, and broke down faith in the party's ability to put into practice the ideals of socialism. Similar consequences resulted from the schematic and academic way of disseminating Marxism, isolated from the realities of life and also averting confrontation with views opposed to Marxism.

The growing tendencies in the party and in the country that are alien to the spirit of Marxism bore a serious danger to Marxist-Leninist ideology. The phenomena of rightist opportunism increased at an especially rapid rate. They assumed the form of ideological capitulation to the heaped-up criticism of program assumptions and party policy and of the uncritical identification with every current of the social consciousness and every state of public opinion, on which the work of socialism's opponents exerted a more and more active influence. This attitude was expressed particularly in the demands for departing from the world-view principles of the party, for abandoning the principles of democratic centralism and for observing the rules of the free play of political powers with its incalculable consequences in the form of the pluralistic structure of political authority.

Naturally, this had to affect the adherence to conservative views, in some circles of the aktiv taking on the form of primitive dogmatism. Here every compromise was treated as fatal for the future of socialism in Poland, and revolutionary phraseology gained the ascendancy over the honest analysis of social reality. A characteristic feature of this attitude of "ideological doctrinairism" was the tendency to propose apparent solutions that did not

take into consideration the real social power structure and to suggest actions that could not and cannot resolve objectively existing social problems. The spokesmen for these views often gave exclusive recognition to administrative methods of resolving social quarrels and conflicts.

Within the compass of Marxist ideology, revisionist and opportunist tendencies and dogmatic and sectarian tendencies always have clashed with greater or lesser force. In general, these tendencies are a kind of reflection of the quarrels and conflicts that occur between the particular classes, strata and social groups. On the other hand, in practice they are always an expression of capitulation to ideologies inimical to socialism or of a loss of faith in the ideological values of Marxism-Leninism, particularly under the stress of problems and failures. Marxist scholars ought to oppose firmly both attempts to revise the basic principles of scientific socialism and attempts at doctrinairism, i.e., the profession of ideological theses that have not withstood the test of life. We must "today rediscover Marxism-Leninism anew, uncovering its values and its attraction for working people and people of science. It must be made a powerful defense of the party in the ongoing ideological struggle."<sup>11</sup>

The freedom to express opinions and scholarly evaluations is a basic condition for the fulfillment of social tasks by scholarship. This means the broad access of academic communities to the sources of economic, social and political information. While scholars have the right to err, this means something different than the right to ignorance, sloppy research, political partisanship and falsification of the truth. It is the special responsibility of intellectuals to be guided in their scholarly and public work by a sense of personal responsibility for the judgments they have made and to show courage in the search for the truth.

The basis for the assumptions of policy prepared by the party and for its program of socialist development of the country should be the always interwoven: works of its theoreticians and ideologists, scholarly analyses assessing the current situation and pointing out the possibilities and ways of resolving a given problem; theoretical works forecasting and guiding the development of the whole or of the particular spheres of social life; the resolutions and directives of congresses, plenary meetings of the party leadership and party echelons and organizations; finally, the experiences of other communist and workers' parties exercising authority, and of the international communist and workers' movement.

Thus understood, the developmental process of the theory of the socialist structure and of Marxist-Leninist ideology should yield:

- first, a scientific system of statements about concrete reality and about the laws governing development that, with regard to the social reality of socialism, ought to supply above all knowledge about the objective laws of development and about the circumstances and possibilities for fulfilling these laws;
- second, a system of values, standards and moral ideals that expresses the basic goals of operation and ways of acting;

-third, a social program for building socialism that concretizes the goals of the working class and contains general directives of operation of the class, its party and the state and defines the strategy of struggle to achieve these goals.

### III

The recovery by Marxism-Leninism of its proper place in the social sciences and in social, economic and political practice surely will be a long-term process. The party initiated this process at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski likewise spoke of it at the 13th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum: "The building of socialism requires the intellectual effort to understand social reality and to prepare rational methods for its transformation. This is an important task for the social sciences--let me put it more strongly--it is a combat task that the party places before its theoretical base."<sup>12</sup>

Clearly this process will not be a question of an administrative decree. Its essence is to increase the impact of Marxism-Leninism upon social practice, upon upbringing activity and upon the social consciousness through rational, scientific solutions and instructions. It is the strengthening of the authority of theory through its development, its outstanding achievements, high-level theory and methodology and humanistic content of proposed solutions. Finally, it is the publishing and journalistic activity of Marxist theoreticians, as well as their offensive stance in theoretical and ideological polemics. Only in this way can it gain the cooperation of the representatives of the social sciences that stand on the sidelines but are not involved in the struggle with the system.

In order to achieve this state, it is indispensable that all Marxist communities throughout Poland be integrated. While this in no way rules out internal polemics, it determines their character as marked by sticking to the essential subject matter and by the proper seriousness. It is likewise indispensable that the efforts of all the Marxist social sciences be integrated around the crucial problems of Poland's socialist development: philosophy and sociology, political economy and political science, the history and theory of culture and the study of management as well as pedagogy and social psychology. Such an integration is also a unity of a glance at the past, an analysis of the present and a scientific forecast of the future. It is the unity of the theoretical analysis and the rational evaluation and programming of reality from the viewpoint of its laws and the system of ideals and values derived from the knowledge of this reality.

The social sciences in Poland have available considerable intellectual potential. All basic branches of the social and humanistic sciences and their sub-disciplines are practiced. In the field of humanities, we have a large independent scholarly cadre and a quite large supply base of young cadre. The humanities in Poland likewise possesses a solid institutional base. There are dozens of institutes for the sociohumanistic sciences, institutions and independent research facilities in higher education, in the Polish Academy of Sciences and in other ministries.



In all sectors of the national economy, education, science and culture, 157,000 workers are employed that have been trained in the humanities. Of these, about 34 percent belong to the PZPR. This number includes about 20,000 research workers. Nearly 1,400 professors and docents working in the social sciences and humanities work in higher schools. Of these, 40 percent belong to the PZPR. The number of assistants and adjuncts is in excess of 7,000. Of these, about 33 percent are party members. Many members of the allied political parties work in the various fields of scholarship. Many groups of nonparty scholars support the building of socialism in Poland. The assertion of Western propaganda centers that all respected scholars without exception are rooted steadfast in the opposition camp is merely wishful thinking on the part of the enemies of People's Poland.

The level of research efforts in the area of the social disciplines varies. This is inevitable. Above all, there is a glaring disproportion between the relatively few outstanding, cognitive-discovery and important practical studies and the inordinate number of minor studies on insignificant topics that duplicate truths discovered long ago and have no broader social usefulness. It should be kept in mind, however, that such exiguous studies represent a form of popularization of knowledge and a necessary preliminary stage leading to more ambitious, synthetic works, given the condition, of course, that the fragmentary studies are original.

It is primarily the Marxist scholars themselves that must conduct the struggle over the position of Marxism-Leninism in the social sciences and humanities. The starting point for this struggle ought to be respect for Marxist theories and methodology in research. This is the basic--more precisely, the primary--criterion for the gradual restoration of Marxism-Leninism to its proper place in the social sciences and humanities. Unfortunately, sometimes scholars that express their positive attitude to Marxism or call themselves Marxists are very far from using Marxist methodology in their research. The process of strengthening Marxism in the social sciences should begin with an honest assessment of such views. These actions to strengthen Marxism-Leninism should be taken both in research and in teaching.

Our party, the party of scientific socialism, is guided in its political work by scientific principles. It is always placing new questions before scholarship. It does this both for cognitive and practical purposes. In order to fulfill these expectations, the social sciences must use Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis for developing and deepening the analysis of the processes and phenomena occurring in the modern world and in modern Polish society. They must draw conclusions and make predictions based on scientific findings, and must supply real knowledge about society and the laws of its development. The luster must be restored to the basic values of Marxism, to its deep humanism and the belief that man, his all-round development, freedom, well-being and happiness are the measure of the value of all socialist tasks.

Above all, the Marxist-Leninist social sciences should embark upon: an analysis of the current state of the major worldwide social conflict and the conflict between the working class and the middle class, between capitalism and socialism, plus an analysis of Poland's role in the ongoing global struggle;

an explanation of the sources and the character of the factors that determine Poland's socioeconomic development; research into the machinery of economic, social and political life in Poland; the creation of the scientific bases for the molding of society's socialist consciousness; the study of the operational principles of the socialist political system and its particular elements and the proposing of practical solutions; the study of the processes of social integration and disintegration and of the role of individuals and groups in these processes. An urgent task is the strengthening of international cooperation, particularly with socialist countries and the mutual verification of the results of scholarly research.

An extremely important task for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences is the discovery and dissemination of knowledge about the universal truths of the building of the socialist structure and the joint discovery, together with researchers in the countries of real socialism, of the circumstances for observing these truths in the process of building and developing socialism, as well as the indication of their determining factors for particular nations.

The need for creative research into answers to the questions that prey upon social practice and likewise to questions that arise during the course of the management of the affairs of the socialist state demands that ideological-political confusion to which some scholars have yielded be eliminated from the social sciences. This also applies to those that take the statements of the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism out of their historical context and look for the "golden key" to the analysis of the complex reality of our country and of countries of real socialism as a whole, in this way proving their superficial understanding of Marxism-Leninism. It also applies to those that allude to the predictions of the classical Marxists regarding the conditions needed for the creation of the communist structure and accuse the communists of prematurely entering into the tasks of organizing the working class and the worker masses in the struggle against economic exploitation and political alienation, in the battle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Alongside this type of theoretician there is also the type that interprets the predictions of the classical Marxists relative to the organization of the communist society in a manner that conflicts with the assumptions of historicism and dialectical materialism. As a result, they deny the elementary thesis of Marxism that the changeability of historical conditions imposes the constant verification of theoretical-predictive statements, since only a broad understanding of social practice can confirm the veracity of these statements.

The ideological-political confusion that one encounters in the various scholarly communities likewise manifests itself in attitudes of the negation of Marxism-Leninism and in the exaggeration of the negative phenomena of everyday life, as well as in the general questioning of the historic legal validity of socialism, at least in our country. This methodologically false idealization is an expression either of elementary weaknesses in one's theoretical-methodological knowledge or of enemy, antisocialist political views whose motives are transferred to the plane of scientific thought and research.

As a side-note to these considerations we should point out that research centers exist in our country that are guided by non-Marxist methodological assumptions of scholarly research. The attitudes of the representatives of these centers often prove that scholarly studies based upon non-Marxist methodological assumptions need not lead to political orientations that are inimical to the socialist state and to our party.

We must battle the previously mentioned phenomena of ideological-political confusion persistently and intelligently, primarily in the written and spoken word. Both Marxist-Leninist-based research and analyses of social phenomena and scholarly discussions and polemics must serve this end. The party wishes the social sciences to be free from idle apologetics and to develop based on an attitude of constructive criticism taken toward socialism. It wants its representatives to be loyal to the precedent interests of the state.

One of the aspects of the current normalization process is the readily noticeable reduction in the level of the phenomena of ideological-political confusion. The recent conspicuous weakening of the position of Marxism-Leninism is yielding slowly. Nor are there any empirical reasons to state that this confusion was expressed in the rejection of Marxist methodology in the professional research carried out by the majority of social science researchers.

This confusion was expressed primarily in attitudes toward political institutions, in the severe moral evaluation of the mechanisms of authority, in illusory hopes in the sincerity of the intentions of the leaders of the former Solidarity and the like. It was manifested also in the public behavior and actions of journalists. Thus, the assertion that the crisis deprived Marxism-Leninism of its dominant position in the social sciences and humanities in Poland is not true, although there is no doubt that it brought it a great deal of harm whose elimination is becoming an important task for the party's scientific policy.

#### IV

The historic experiences of People's Poland, including the experiences of political crisis, prove that one of the main objectives in the attack by antisocialist forces in the system of national education was the sociopolitical disciplines. Strengthening these disciplines, especially in the system of higher education, has priority significance for the normal functioning of our society, for the development of its political culture. Therefore, their educational, ideological and formative rank must be raised, especially in current conditions of intensified struggle between imperialism and socialism. Thus, we must regard the place and role of sociopolitical subjects in the system of higher education not only from the perspective of current "crisis" experiences, but also, and above all, from the viewpoint of their meaning in the entire process of the social education of the nation, and particularly of the young generation.

The formation of socialist consciousness is an integral part of the processes of socialist development and it is inseparably bound up with increasing its material-technical base. The day-to-day ideological and political activity of all the institutions of the sociopolitical system of socialism, of the social sciences and of higher education create and disseminate that consciousness. This activity is carried on in a relentless struggle of the new against the old, both in the sphere of social relations and in the spiritual life of the nation, especially in the realm of the establishment of socialist moral principles in interpersonal relations, of a new attitude toward the state, work and public ownership, of the formation of a socialist force of culture.

Lenin stressed repeatedly the lofty role of the party in the molding of the consciousness of its members and, through them, in the ideological training of the working class and the laboring masses. He wrote that the party must "know how to determine, with no hint of false idealization, the level of the workers' consciousness as well as the strength of the influence of one or another prejudice (...) of the past,"<sup>13</sup> and "build socialism not from human material imagined and specially created by ourselves, but from what capitalism left behind in its collapse."<sup>14</sup> At the same time, he stressed that the party of the working class is a social force that "is in a position to unite, train and organize a vanguard of the proletariat and larger working class masses that alone can oppose the inevitable lower middle class hesitations of these masses, the inevitable traditions and remnants of occupational limitations or occupational prejudices among the proletariat, and direct the entire complex of activity of the whole proletariat, that is, direct it politically, and through the proletariat direct the working masses in general."<sup>15</sup>

The building of socialism and communism is a unity of economic, political and ideological-educational processes aimed in the single direction pointed out by the party. In this far-reaching developmental concept, the tasks of building the material base of socialism are joined with the fundamental transformations of the entire socioeconomic structure, with the cultural revolution and with the transformations of the social consciousness--the "re-educating" of millions of peasants, small property owners, white-collar workers and the workers themselves, in the socialist spirit.

The Leninist proposition of "bringing" socialist consciousness to the working class, to the general mass of working people, has lost none of its currency. After all, that proposition does not restrict the working class to the roles of consumer of an ideology that is brought in and executor of its premises. Neither is there any reduction to a one-directional movement of thought: from the party to the working class. The Marxist-Leninist ideology develops creatively only when it unites with revolutionary practice of the working class. Torn from a practical context, Marxism as a whole ceases to be an effective instrument in the hands of the working class, no longer serving for the analysis and study of social reality. Without fear of exaggeration, we can, therefore, say that the creative development of Marxism-Leninism envisages not a one-directional flow of ideas, but a two-directional one: from theory to working class revolutionary practice and from practice back to theory. In this light, the Leninist conception of "bringing" consciousness is not only an act of popularization and teaching of theory and ideology, but also an act stimulating and impregnating theoreticians to develop creative Marxist thinking.

Everyday practice and real everyday social life form the social consciousness, the worker consciousness. The process of determining the real state, the real situation of workers and the general mass of working people is the fundamental principle for the transformation of the everyday consciousness, the elemental consciousness into the scientific consciousness. Theoretical logic must conform to the logic of real facts in order to be adequate to human experience. Therefore, mere school learning, verbal acquaintance with the laws of social development is not enough. What is needed is education founded upon a synthesis of social experience and theory.

Splitting the unity between socialist practice and consciousness leads to multiform and disastrous consequences both for practice and for the consciousness. It was just such a split that occurred in Poland during the 1970's. The direction of social practice implemented at that time was at cross purposes with the theoretical assumptions of socialism. These assumptions ceased guiding the transformation process and lost their controlling power. This conflict of practice and program assumptions of socialism was expressed in a changed values system, in an increase in the influence of the lower middle class, in the growth of subservience to capitalism that in its various forms began to gnaw at nearly all social groups and in many other negative phenomena. These phenomena penetrated the individual and collective consciousness and defined both their attitudes to reality and their actions within it. At the same time, socialist content was obliterated from this consciousness.

Thus, "bringing" consciousness means discovering, together with workers and the working masses, the real problems that emanate from the actual situation of the working class and the entire society. It also means generalizing based on a deep familiarity with the tendencies and laws of development and the tendencies of social processes, the experience of the working class and the entire society building socialism. The role of the social sciences and the humanities in this task is irreplaceable. These sciences bear a special responsibility for the historical training of society, especially young people. "The events of a nation flow along a course marked out by history. There is no returning to the starting point. The task of living generations is to form that segment of the events for which we are responsible according to the exigencies of the time, according to the logic of social progress. To exhume the "bulwark" idea, to revitalize the disastrous notions of seeking our enemies from among the near and our friends from among the distant--all this is exaggerated patriotism that must be opposed resolutely in our own, our deepest Polish interest. We will not yield in the struggle with attempts to rehabilitate doctrines and political directions that have been canceled out by history, with the illumination of the past both in the spirit of nationalism and Polono-centrism, or in the light of national nihilism and the worthless cosmopolitan complex. Our opponents try to resurrect the most regressive currents of the past, at the same time appealing to Poland, as the first and surely only country in the world to take on the risk of trying out such forms of socioeconomic organizations that have never, in any place, been tested. In today's world there is no fad, no idea, no intellectual rubbish that they would not use in the struggle with the party and the socialist state."<sup>16</sup> The party expects the social sciences and the humanities to take the offensive to offer assistance in the struggle against "bringing" into the consciousness of people the reactionary ideas and views of the forces and centers inimical to socialism.

One urgent party task today is the question of training Marxist scholarly cadres. There is a pressing need to prepare a long-range program of cadre policy in the social sciences that takes in the entire make-up of the issues related to training, supplemental training and advancement of scholarly cadres.

The party places much hope in the continuing work to open a PZPR KC Academy of Social Sciences, work that was initiated by means of a 12th PZPR KC Plenum resolution. In the near future, the academy should become an important center of Marxist thought in Poland and a national center for training cadres for the social sciences. It also should perform integrating roles within the compass of Marxist research on society.

It seems advisable to organize an All-Poland Conference on the Social Sciences to assess the state of these sciences, to define their tasks, to outline priority research directions for the 1980's and to define the tasks of party members and party organizations in the area of the strengthening and development of Marxism and the Marxist social sciences. This conference could be a stage in preparing the social sciences community for the Third Congress of Polish Science.

#### FOOTNOTES

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2. F. Engels, "Ludwik Feuerbach i zmierzch klasycznej filozofii niemieckiej" [Ludwig Feuerbach and the Decline of German Classical Philosophy] in K. Marx, F. Engels, "Dziela" [Works], Vol 21, Warsaw, 1969.
3. "F. Engels do Florence Kelly Wischniewtzki--27 stycznia 1887" [F. Engels to Florence Kelly Wischniewtzki--27 January 1887] in K. Marx, F. Engels, "Dziela" Vol 36, Warsaw, 1976, p 692.
4. "F. Engels do Laury Lafargue--4 maja 1891" [F. Engels to Laura Lafargue--4 May 1891] in K. Marx, F. Engels, op. cit., Vol 38, p 110.
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6. V. Lenin, "O niektórych właściwościach historycznego rozwoju marksizmu" [On Some Characteristics of the Historic Development of Marxism] in "Dziela," Vol 23, Warsaw, 1951, p 23.
7. V. Lenin, "Jakiego dziedzictwa się wyrzekamy?" [What Inheritance Do We Relinquish?] in "Dziela," Vol 2, Warsaw, 1950, p 265.
8. V. Lenin, "Lepiej mniej a lepiej" [Better Less but Better] in "Dziela," Vol 33, Warsaw 1957, p 507.

9. V. Lenin, "Listy o taktyce" [Letters on Tactics] in "Dziela," Vol 24, Warsaw, 1952, pp 27-28.
10. V. Lenin, "Rewolucyjne awanturnictwo" [Revolutionary Turmoil] in "Dziela," Vol 6, Warsaw, 1952, p 188.
11. "Przemowienie na I Ogolnopolskiej Partyjnej Konferencji Ideologiczno-Teoretycznej, wygloszone 2 kwietnia 1982" [Address to the First All-Poland Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference made on 2 April 1982] in Wojciech Jaruzelski, "Przemowienia 1981-1982" [Addresses 1981-1982], Warsaw, 1983, p 340.
12. "Przemowienie koncowe I sekretarza KC PZPR Wojciecha Jaruzelskiego na XIII Plenum KC PZPR, 14-15 pazdziernika 1983" [Closing Address of PZPR KC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the PZPR KC 13th Plenum, 14-15 October 1983] in NOWE DROGI, pp 182-183.
13. V. Lenin, "O roli i zadaniach zwiazkow zawodowych w warunkach nowej polityki ekonomicznej" [On the Role and Tasks of Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy] in "Dziela," Vol 33, Warsaw, 1957, p 193.
14. V. Lenin, "Dzieciece choroba 'lewicowosci' w komunizmie" [The Childhood Disease of "Leftism" in Communism] in "Dziela," Vol 31, Warsaw, 1955, p 35.
15. V. Lenin, "Pierwotny projekt rezolucji X Zjazdu RKP o syndykalistycznym i anarchistycznym odchyleniu w naszej partii" [The First Draft of the RKP [Russian Communist Party] Tenth Congress Resolution on the Syndicalistic and Anarchistic Deviations in Our Party] in "Dziela," Vol 32, Warsaw, 1956, p 250.
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## WESTERN COMMENT ON IMPEDIMENTS TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL CHANGE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 May 84 p 12

[Article: "Yes to Principle, No to Reality," by Viktor Meier]

[Excerpts] In his book "The Political Economy of Socialism," the Croatian economics professor Branko Horvat tries to develop a comprehensive theory of the self-management system. He designates this alone as being socialist; that which happens in the other socialist states is for him "etatist." He harshly criticizes the mistakes and crimes of the Soviet communist systems, although the Yugoslav regime feels itself ideologically and politically still akin to them in certain questions. This may be the reason that Horvat's book which was first published in English in the United States only now is coming out in Yugoslavia (Globus Publishers, Zagreb).

In his assessment of the self-management system the professor from Zagreb often appears somewhat dogmatic. But Horvat brings out two theses important for the present economic-political discussion in Yugoslavia: First, the political framework cannot be separated from the economic system, and second, the system of socialist self-management can make use of those economic methods and mechanisms, especially the market, which have proved themselves in other places.

The "market", also in the official stabilization program, is now being praised as a cure-all for the Yugoslav economic crisis. Yugoslavia has thorough capitalist aspirations; people want their own houses, cars, trips abroad, a lot of money--in every respect, just as in Western countries. In the almost 30 years in which this situation has been developing, most of the communist functionaries also have grasped the fact that the attainment of such goals is not possible without concessions made to the capitalist system. One affirms the "market." To be sure, reservations and objections are immediately forthcoming: "Of course" the market must not touch the self-management rights of the workers; no one should be without work or earn money only by exploiting a monopoly position or similar advantage; enterprises and their managers may not in any way become strong and "independent centers of social power"; their capital and business practices must be subject to strict "social control"; above all, they may not have too much capital of their own so that they could evade these controls. In general, everyone can acquire property and become rich only within a certain limit.



Horvat also is basically in agreement with these theses; above all, in regard to the enterprises, their strength, and that about the managers. The restrictions on the "market," practically speaking, come down to the fact that despite recognition of the principle, the institution as a reality continues to be rejected; in Yugoslavia capitalist goals are still to be realized with socialist means.

This brings into play Horvat's second thesis, the connection between the economy and politics. It is a generally accepted fact that the resistance by so many Yugoslav functionaries to the economic reforms comes from fear of losing their power. The strength of communist regimes, in contrast mostly to the authoritarian regimes of the right, rests on the fact that the communists also have the economy firmly in their hands with all the resources and jobs; in communist countries there is hardly a retreat back to a "private sphere." The fear functionaries have regarding their power is quickly seen.

There was sharp criticism recently in Ljubljana against attempts to dissolve the small "basic organizations of associated labor" into which the economy was divided in 1974 and to merge them again into larger market-oriented enterprises directly and not through the cumbersome process of cooperative [self-management] agreements. One could have believed that this criticism was an independent Slovenian reaction; Kardelj, who as Tito's ideologist had drawn up the economic constitution of 1974 whose thesis on the "pluralism of self-management interests" is brought out by those espousing democratization, was a Slovene. It soon appeared, nevertheless, that there was a question of local patriotism; the Slovenian functionaries also want to retain the fragmentation of the economy so they can more easily preserve their positions of power.

Because of this..., one often hears in Yugoslavia today that the economic reforms can achieve only limited success without thorough political reforms, that the question of the political system is thus ultimately decisive also for the economy. Also the International Monetary Fund, which placed really drastic conditions on Yugoslavia this spring for the first time, had to concede that individual measures can only be effective if they are embedded in an integrated system. In the meantime the reform of the political system has been taken up by the official side, of course, as it appears, rather with a view to directing the discussion to technical secondary questions and leaving it bogged down there. Those espousing political changes express themselves with caution: One must "finally realize self-management fully," or "one must find an open dialogue in society." At the same time there is the question of whether a regime led by persons who are largely unwilling and incapable of overcoming the Yugoslav difficulties constructively and successfully can claim a political or moral right to exercise power.

The attitude of the regime is at present defensive, partially even nervously so, with few constructive signs. Criticism cannot be hampered; [but] it is disquieting for the functionaries; so there are repeated attacks against the press and the new press law.

One of the most important characteristics of the present phase of development in Yugoslavia is the great differences between the republics precisely in regard to the process of democratization. Before the police moved against the group of Serbian intellectuals before whom Djilas was speaking, one could say that Belgrade had found again its traditional liberal atmosphere. Even now there are no indications that the responsible power-holders in Serbia want to banish this atmosphere forever; but this atmosphere certainly does not please other republic leaders. Croatian party secretary Vrhovec who is known for his intolerant dogmatism, immediately after the Belgrade police action, struck out by saying it is unbelievable how in Serbia all the political figures of the past are dragged out and cultivated, such as Prime Minister Nikola Pasic who led Serbia through World War I and into the first Yugoslavia. Vrhovec repeated his thesis for which he was criticized already once before, namely, that in principle it was good that the first Yugoslavia collapsed so that socialist Yugoslavia could arise.

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